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An Address delivered before
the Colonization Society of Ken-
tucky, January 15, 1835, by
Hon. Joseph R. Underwood Esq.





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A D D R E S S

DELIVERED TO THE

COLONIZATION SOCIETY OF KENTUCKY,

AT FRANKFORT, JAN. 15, 1835.

BY THE

HON. JOSEPH R. UNDERWOOD.

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1835.



A D D R E S S .

WE live, my audience, in an age full of interest to the heart of the philanthropist. The moral, religious, and intellectual excitement pervading Christian countries, presages the accomplishment of great works, in which mankind are to be blessed. Those principles of morals, of science, and of government, which regulate the affairs of civilized nations and individuals, must be extended throughout the world; otherwise, all that is good and magnificent in the past achievements of our race, is in danger. If ignorance should triumph over knowledge, and vice trample virtue under foot, the lights of science and of art which now illuminate the territories of many nations, may be extinguished forever, and the reign of barbarism cover the earth with gloom, till the end of time.

If we contrast the present with any former period, we shall find much cause for exultation in the progress which has been made in meliorating the condition of large portions of the human family. Such contrast, while it encourages benevolent efforts in behalf of those who still remain enveloped in ignorance and vice, affords strong reason to hope that the future will elevate the prostrate nations of the earth to that happy eminence on which the most exalted are now placed. The sources of enjoyment have been vastly multiplied within the last two or three hundred years, comparing the improvements made in that time, with the state of the arts, the sciences, the physical and intellectual condition of man, as they existed during the preceding thousands of years; and the progress made in the last fifty years of the three hundred, has greatly exceeded that of the preceding two hundred and fifty.

Were the illustrious men who lived in the most renowned periods of Greek and Roman History, permitted to revisit the earth, and to look upon all that is now going forward in it, we can scarcely imagine the degree of astonishment which would fill their minds in contemplating the new order of things introduced by modern inventions. Exhibit the art of printing in its present state of perfection,

and what a current of thought would rush through the minds of Julius Cæsar, Cicero, Virgil, and Solon. Cæsar might exclaim, this art would have spread the knowledge of my campaigns and my victories over all the world, and perpetuated my fame more effectually than statutes of marble or monuments of brass; while Cicero, Virgil, and Solon, with mingled voices of admiration, would severally connect the invention with his orations, his poems, and his laws. We can almost hear the eager inquiry of those celebrated ancients—"Who has immortalized himself by the discovery of this divine art?" And we can almost see the incredulous amazement depicted in their countenances, when informed that Guttemberg, or Faust, a German, was the inventor. The Germans in the days of Cæsar, were regarded by the Romans as barbarians; and so they were.

Recall nineteen hundred years, and erect in the City of Rome all the various improvements in machinery for manufacturing woollen and cotton cloths, and there exhibit what modern art has done to defend the body against the frosts of winter and the heats of summer, and you would create a deeper excitement, a more intense interest among all classes of the people, than was ever produced by the most splendid triumph awarded to the most successful general who commanded the legions of that proud city in subduing nations. The celebrated Appian way is no more, when compared with the modern rail road, than one of our roads recently opened through the rich soil of our forests, is to the Appian way. The power of steam, applied as it now is to navigation, and propelling as it does every description of machinery, was not known until the middle of the seventeenth century. Could the most learned Greek or Roman Philosopher wake from the sleep of death, and behold a modern Aeronaut sailing through the clouds, his first impression would be, that Jupiter, the Father of Gods according to his Mythology, was on a visit to the earth. But when the scientific principles were explained, upon which the perfection of these wonderful arts depends, astonishment would cease, and the sages of antiquity would content themselves by exclaiming—"The world was in its infancy when we lived, it is now grown up to manhood!"

The connexion between the arts and the sciences, is almost as indissoluble as that between the shadow and the substance; and hence, wherever you find the arts prevailing in a high degree of perfection, there likewise the lights of science burn with splendor. Accord-

ingly the contrast between the present condition of the sciences and what they were before the Christian era and for many hundred years afterwards, is calculated to afford delight without alloy. The modern Chemist has unveiled the mysteries of Nature; the modern Astronomer and Mathematician have invaded the Heavens, and ascertained with exactness, the magnitudes and revolutions, diurnal and annual, of the sun, the planets, and their satellites. Men of science in our age, analyze and test every thing in Physicks by actual experiments, and by such means have erected a standard of truth unknown to the ancients. Hence there is a certainty in modern scientific knowledge which admits of no doubt. Navigation is an art dependent upon astronomical and mathematical science. The perfection of these, connected with the discovery of the powers of the magnet, have enabled navigators to explore the whole world, the arctic and antarctic regions excepted. It is said that Alexander wept because he could not find another world to conquer, and yet, vain man, he died ignorant that such a continent existed as that which we inhabit! The blaze of modern science extinguishes the twilight learning of the ancients, as the light of the sun doth the twinkling of the stars.

The contrast between the proudest days of Greece and Rome, and those of the present time, is not less striking if we place it upon the principles, the opinions, the character, and pursuits of the people. We read of Republics, but the representative principle as acted on by us, was unknown. The idea of a written constitution, limiting the powers of the different departments of government, and defining certain rights which shall remain inviolate forever, is, comparatively speaking, the work of yesterday. The Athenians condemned Socrates, and sentenced him to drink hemlock because they differed in opinion with him; the papal inquisitions of the dark ages have sacrificed many victims to the demon of intolerance; but such persecution and ligotry have fled from the empire of civilization, having recently surrendered their last fortress in Spain; and the sentiment of Mr. Jefferson, that error may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it, is firmly established in this country, and rapidly gaining foothold throughout Europe. We have, it is true, in high party times, political punishments for opinion's sake; but as these have recently sprung up, and do not extend to loss of life, it is to be hoped that a perseverance in the system will not leave a lasting stain upon the character of our age,

and obliterate the distinction between the bloody persecutions of ancient days and the spirit of forbearance and toleration so forcibly inculcated by the genius of modern institutions. .

Where shall we find in the pages of Greek or Roman History an account of any benevolent association to suppress crime, to alleviate suffering, to extend knowledge to remote nations, and to civilize barbarians? In the annals of ancient nations where could you find a notice of a Temperance Society, a Prison Discipline Society, a Sunday School Society, a Bible Society, a Missionary Society, and lastly, a Colonization Society? These societies, and others for the promotion of the welfare of our fellow creatures, mark a new era on earth. They are the fruit of that Religion which began in the days of Augustus Caesar, and which has already driven the doctrines of Roman Mythology into the shades of oblivion. He who came into the world to bring life and immortality to light, has renewed the affections of the heart and changed public sentiment. The sanguinary games, or rather murders perpetrated by Roman Gladiators for the amusement of a blood thirsty and ignorant populace, would now excite universal horror. The springs of human action are now connected with eternity, and hence there are thousands who sacrifice their time and their lives, like Ashmun, laboring to benefit others without looking to a reward on earth. They look beyond the grave.

While we bear in mind the immense progress in improvement which the world has made and is making, let us proceed to consider the objects and plans of our association. If the present face of the earth exhibits a new set of features compared with what it was a thousand or two thousand years ago, what may we not expect a thousand years hence? May we not hope that some future benefactor will arise, accomplish and leave for history brighter deeds than ever yet have warmed the heart of admiration or fired the spirit of emulation. The present race is connected with the generations to come, and that man has no claim to the character of a Philanthropist who does not feel a deep interest in the welfare of posterity.

I will not detain you, my audience, by entering upon the present condition of the Colony at Liberia in detail. It may be well, however, to remark, that the Colony has passed through its hours of trial and is now placed upon such a footing that its success is beyond cavil or question. In less than ten years immediately subsequent

to November 1822, during which month the Colony was twice attacked, first by eight hundred, and afterwards by fifteen hundred African natives, and successfully defended by thirty-five Colonists under the intrepid Ashmun, the number of men capable of bearing arms has increased to six hundred and three. Every thing has advanced in the same ratio until it can with truth be affirmed that the Colonists at Liberia and their commerce and agriculture, schools and churches, have surpassed, in the same length of time from the date of their respective settlements, those of our ancestors at Jamestown or those of the pilgrims at Plymouth. Fortified as the Colony now is with men and munitions of war, and instructed as the Colonists are in the arts and sciences of modern times, it bids defiance to the hostile attempts of the barbarian aborigines by which it is surrounded. Indeed, the natives sensible of their inferiority, are courting the friendship of the Colonists, who have already acquired an influence extending far into the interior, and which is rapidly converting the continent of Africa into an asylum, where her dust-trodden children of this hemisphere may find peace and rest.

It is the design of our Society to colonize on the western coasts of Africa, such free people of color as are willing to go. Manumitted slaves are included within the benevolent objects of the Society, as well as people of color who are born free. We expect three blessings to result from our efforts, first to the emigrants, secondly to ourselves and country, and thirdly and lastly to the barbarous nations of Africa. I shall not enter upon a systematic discussion to show that what we expect on these points has already been accomplished to a considerable extent, nor will I consume time in proving that the continent of Africa has ample means in her extensive and fertile soils, in her forests and rivers, to subsist the whole colored population of the United States, bond and free, and their increase, for ages to come. My principal object on the present occasion is to vindicate our society against the unwarranted attacks which have been made upon it, and to show that the objections raised against it are altogether untenable.

Our motives have been variously impeached by the different descriptions of persons inimical to our cause. Whilst the abolitionist declares that our object is to strengthen and tighten the chains of slavery, and to render more valuable, as property, those human beings, who are by *human* laws converted into beasts of burden; the

slaveholder perceives no other design than to disturb the long settled rights of property.

Neither the abolitionist, nor the slaveholder, seems to have a correct view of our motives or objects. It is true, that we do not make war upon those laws which sanction slavery by a vindictive denunciation of them; but it is equally true, that we look upon slavery as a great moral, political and national evil. History proves that the evil originated in those days when England tolerated the slave trade. England outraged the laws of nature, and the curse fell upon us, and yet some of her prominent citizens, and even some of our own, are inconsiderate enough to upbraid us as criminals for the situation in which we are placed. Their censure is equal to that of a robber who introduces his comrade into an honest man's house, and when the goods are stolen, blames the host for entertaining a thief. We cannot consider ourselves accountable for the origin of the evil, nor do we feel bound to adopt every suggestion of intemperate zeal proposing a remedy. The remedy of the abolitionist is not ours. It is not more wise to loose the bands of slavery immediately, than it would be to discharge children and minors from all salutary restraints, and to send them into the world to provide food, raiment and shelter for themselves. Minors, under such circumstances, would become depredators on the community. They would become the dupes and instruments of vicious men, and so would slaves, to a dangerous extent, if indiscriminately emancipated with their present habits, and principles, and want of information. There are many exceptions no doubt, but the remark is true when applied to the mass of our slave population.

It is a question of doubt whether a slave in Kentucky, under the control and protection of a humane master, is not better situated and happier in slavery, than he would be, were he emancipated. As a slave, he is exempt from all the cares and anxieties of providing for himself or family. He is at ease when he has finished the work assigned him. But emancipate him in this country, and what is his condition? You send him abroad into the world to provide for himself, to make contracts with, and to labor for the whites as a hireling, and yet he cannot be received and admitted into the society of those with whom he has to do, upon terms of equality. In all his intercourse he is treated as an inferior. He is not allowed to participate in the government. His freedom does not elevate him to the rank of a citizen, but it affords him numerous opportunities of

feeling his degradation, and learning the extent of new privations, to which, while in bondage, he was a stranger. His sensibilities are the keener in consequence of removing a part of his shackles, but he is still constrained to travel the journey of life, borne down by a load of privations packed on him, (as the abolitionist thinks,) with the chord of prejudice. Are we to yield what the abolitionist denominates prejudice and consent to an entire amalgamation? It can never be accomplished, nor is it desirable if it would be. Nature has made the distinction of color, and in it, has laid the foundation of the partialities which bind us to our own likeness, and of the repugnances which turn us from those who do not resemble ourselves. It is vain to attempt to eradicate the sentiment of hostility towards amalgamation. Look at the riots in New York and elsewhere, which have grown out of the suspicion that amalgamation was seriously contemplated. In those states which confer the privileges of citizenship upon the free African, the whites are, in general, entirely averse to an interchange of civilities upon terms of perfect equality. The social circles of the different colors are distinct. Indeed, some of the most thoroughgoing abolitionists have declared their opposition to the amalgamation of the whites and blacks. It cannot be accomplished, and consequently, the emancipation of the slaves would place two rival species of the family of man in the same country; and the circumstance that they would not amalgamate, would, of itself, produce bitter heartburnings. Endless jealousies and strife would be the natural fruits of such a state of society. The fruit has been gathered in Cincinnati and other cities, and its bitterness exhibited in forcible attempts to expel the blacks, and thus we have actual experience of the evils resulting from the hatred and collision of the two classes so situated. It would be best for both to separate like Lot and Abraham.

The abolitionist, however, believes, or affects to believe the scheme of African Colonization altogether impracticable, as a remedy, to rid the state of its slave population; and such is his abhorrence of slavery, such his deep convictions of its sinfulness, that he insists upon a general and speedy emancipation. I do not question the sincerity of many who believe that it is impracticable to colonize our slaves, nor do I censure their motives in urging immediate emancipation; but I am very much inclined to think that their zeal has overcome their judgment. I will undertake to demonstrate that it is within the power of the people of Kentucky to get clear

of slavery, by Colonization, without feeling the change such an event would produce in our manners and habits. It will require the steady operation of the system we ought to adopt, through a series of years, before the entire work can be accomplished, but that it will be effectual, and can be brought to a successful termination before the present generation have all passed off the stage of human action, I do not entertain the least doubt.

Let us proceed to the proof. There were in Kentucky, when the last census was taken, one hundred and sixty-five thousand, two hundred and thirteen slaves. It is ascertained that it will cost thirty-five dollars per head, to remove a family to Africa, and support them there until they can provide for themselves. Now at that rate, if we should undertake to remove the whole slave population at once, it would require \$5,782,455 to do it. I will not consider the ways and means of raising so large a sum. Perhaps it exceeds our ability, and it may be that we would not do it. I shall content myself with the remark that it is not wanted. In a system of colonization, which shall have for its object the extermination of slavery, it is unwise to colonize children and old people. They cannot work. They require nursing, and consequently the adult colonists would be withdrawn from their labors, in erecting houses, opening plantations, and the thousand other necessary pursuits, to watch over the feebleness of infancy and the decrepitude of old age. Such a burden would materially retard the prosperity of any colony. It has been injuriously felt in Liberia. To avoid such drawbacks, the female colonists should be in their sixteenth or seventeenth year, and the males from twenty to twenty-five. Thus selected, they should be sent to Africa, there to form matrimonial connexions. Under such a plan, there would be but few, comparatively speaking, fit for colonization; and much less money would be required than most persons imagine.

According to the last census, there were thirty-one thousand five hundred male, and thirty thousand, nine hundred and seventy-five female slaves under ten years of age in Kentucky. What would these children, making more than a third of the entire slave population of the state, do in Africa? They would perish if left to themselves; their support would be a heavy burden on the adults. The proportion of slaves under ten years of age in Kentucky, compared with the whole number, amounts to 37 8-10 per cent, and hence it might be inferred that more than a third of our race were

under ten years of age. This, however, is not true, and the reason why the census tables of the slaves of Kentucky mislead us, and authorize false inferences, may be stated hereafter. If we take the whole free white population of the United States, it will be found that the proportion which the children under ten years of age bear to the whole number, is 31 1-2 per cent. The proportion of children in the whole slave population of the United States, is 34 9-10 per cent. Thus it appears that there are a larger proportion of children, according to aggregate numbers, among the slaves, than are to be found among the free whites, by nearly 3 1-2 per cent. The children of the free whites in the slave-holding states amount to 33 1-10 per cent of the aggregate free white population, which still gives 1 1-2 per cent more children among the slaves, in proportion to numbers, than among their owners. There are but two causes for the difference pointed out: the one is, that the slaves are more prolific than the whites; the other is, that a greater proportion of adult slaves die before reaching very old age than do among the free whites. The last may be the most efficient cause of the two, owing to the greater exposure of slaves, and their not being so well taken care of. The facts exhibited should stimulate us to colonize a race which multiplies faster than we do, or which dies more rapidly because of hard treatment.

The proportion of children who die before entering their seventeenth year, probably exceeds half the whole number that are born. All those slaves who die before entering their seventeenth year, will in the general leave no children, and hence no good could be effected by removing them to Africa. If we divide the number of male and female slaves in Kentucky who are under ten years of age by 10, the quotient will show the number of each sex who are in their fifth year. By this rule I ascertain that there were thirty-one hundred and fifty male, and three thousand and ninety seven female slaves in the fifth year of their age when the census was last taken. According to the census, there were twenty-seven thousand, four hundred and forty-nine males, and twenty-seven thousand, three hundred and forty-six female slaves of ten and under twenty-four years of age. Now, as these numbers embrace all ages of ten and under twenty-four, comprising a period of fourteen years, it is reasonable to suppose, that dividing these numbers by 14, the quotients will give the number of each sex in the last half of their seventeenth, or first half of their eighteenth year, that being the intermediate year be-

tween ten and twenty-four. This rule gives us, for the number of males, one thousand, nine hundred and sixty-one, and for the females one thousand nine hundred and fifty-three, or a total of three thousand, nine hundred and fourteen only. The whole number of children in their fifth year, of both sexes, make a total of six thousand, two hundred and forty-seven. Deduct from this, three thousand, nine hundred and fourteen, the number living at seventeen, and it leaves two thousand, three hundred and thirty-three who have died or left the state in twelve years, to-wit: from their fifth to their seventeenth year. It is thus shown that the loss is a little more than 37 per cent. In other words, out of every hundred slave children five years old, thirty-seven will die, or be carried from the state before they reach seventeen years of age. The loss per cent, accurately calculated, is 37.75-100 for the males, and 36.94-100 for the females. By the same mode of calculation, applied to the whole slave population of the United States, it appears that there is a loss by death among the males who attain five years of age, before reaching seventeen, of 36.84-100 per cent, and among the females, of 36.56-100 per cent. It thus appears that the loss in Kentucky is nearly one per cent greater than the average loss upon our whole slave population for males, and one third of one per cent for females. Our greater loss is not to be attributed to the insalubrity of our climate, nor to the failure of our slaveholders to provide suitable food, clothing, and accommodations for their slaves. The true reason is to be found in the existence of a domestic slave trade, under the operations of which about one per cent of our male, and one third of one per cent of our female slaves, are taken between the ages of five and seventeen to the South, and there sold to other masters. Additional calculations, founded on the fifth census, will place this matter in a very striking aspect. Thus, if we take the whole male slave population of the United States in their seventeenth year, it will be found that they die at the rate of 30.73-100 per cent in thirteen years, or up to the age of thirty. The same rule applied to Kentucky, shows that male slaves of seventeen disappear before reaching thirty, at the rate of 42.53-100 per cent, or nearly 12 per cent faster than the average of the whole male slave population of the United States. Our female slaves from seventeen to thirty, disappear at the rate of 40.91-100 per cent, or 11 per cent faster than the average. Only compare the foregoing facts with the condition of things in Louisiana, and you will immediately perceive that the

greater apparent loss in Kentucky is attributable to the domestic slave trade! Thus, in Louisiana, by the same mode of calculation, male slaves from five to seventeen only die at the rate of 6.59-100 per cent, and there are more male slaves in their thirtieth year than in their seventeenth. Thus, while Kentucky exhibits a loss exceeding 42 per cent between the ages of seventeen and thirty, Louisiana shows an actual gain. And here is the reason why the proportion of slave children in Kentucky is greater than the average for the whole United States. Permit me to present you one other comparison between the states of Kentucky and Louisiana. It proves one of two things, or both: first, that the climate of Kentucky is more favorable to long life than that of Louisiana, or that the treatment which slaves receive in Louisiana shortens their lives. In this state, according to the last census, there were thirteen thousand, five hundred and twenty male slaves of twenty-four and under thirty-six, and two thousand, three hundred and forty-one above fifty-five years of age. From these facts, the inference is, that out of every hundred males between twenty-four and thirty-six years of age only seventeen or eighteen ($\frac{17}{31-100}$ is the exact proportion) will remain in Kentucky or be living at fifty-five years of age. The same rule applied to Louisiana, shows that out of every hundred male slaves of twenty-four and under thirty-six, only thirteen or fourteen ($\frac{13}{1-2}$ is the exact proportion) will live to reach fifty-five. Thus the climate or treatment of slaves is about 4 per cent more unfavorable to longevity in Louisiana than in Kentucky. There is this further difference between the two states. Many slaves are taken from Kentucky to Alabama and other southern states as merchandize, whereas, few, if any, are taken from Louisiana. This would increase the percentage of destruction which falls upon the ill-fated African in Louisiana. In Kentucky, about nineteen out of every hundred female slaves between twenty-four and thirty-six years of age, live till they pass fifty-five; the ratio in Louisiana is twelve in the one hundred. In these comparisons we may perceive the horrid effects of the domestic slave trade. The affectionate ties of consanguinity and affinity are broken; rational beings are involuntarily driven to market; adults are carried off, until there is an over proportion of children left; and they are taken to countries where their lives are shortened, owing to the effects of the climate, or the increased severity of taskmasters and overseers.

I admit these things do appeal with power to the sensibilities of the abolitionist, and it is not to be wondered at, that he should in the moment of his excitement, declare that they ought to be instantly terminated, and that emancipation should strike him as the proper remedy. For myself, I can say, that the difference between the domestic slave trade, and that which our forefathers carried on upon the coasts of Africa is so trilling, that I should be willing to arrest the one as soon as the other. But I should not undertake to do it by emancipating the slaves and permitting them to remain among us.

I will endeavor to point out to the abolitionist a better remedy. There are, as we have already seen, only three thousand, nine hundred and fourteen male and female slaves in Kentucky in their 17th year. Now if we were to send to Africa, annually, four thousand males and females, half to be females and in their sixteenth or seventeenth year, we should begin to break up all the evils of slavery. The young slaves in Kentucky would supply about 4,000, (half girls in their sixteenth or seventeenth year,) annually, for seventeen or eighteen years; after which, their numbers would diminish with increasing rapidity until none could be found suitable for transportation. By removing two thousand female slaves annually, sixteen or seventeen years of age, we should get clear of the stock before we were burdened with the increase, and when the last of that age were sent, there would remain behind but a few superannuated slaves, who, whatever we might owe them, would ask us to discharge but one debt, the consignment of their worn out bodies to the repose of the grave. If the people of Kentucky could only be induced to adopt this plan, and to prosecute it with energy, in fifty years from the time it shall be put into operation, the whole slave population of this state would be reduced to an inconsiderable remnant. In the mean time, the rising generations of our race, beholding the progress of the great work, and perceiving its inevitable accomplishment, would conform to the new order of things thus gradually introduced; whilst old persons whose habits and prejudices alike require the services of slaves, can live through their lives as they have been living. The time required for effecting this great revolution in the condition of the slaves and their owners, is nothing. Fifty or an hundred years in the age of a nation, is but as one day in the life of men.

Have we the means of removing to Africa, annually, an army of four thousand colonists? And let it be remembered, that there is

as much necessity for divesting such an army, of children and old people to make it efficient, as there is to exclude these cumbrous classes from an army marching to the field of battle. At a cost of thirty-five dollars per head, it would require the sum of one hundred and forty thousand dollars to transport four thousand colonists, and to provide for them in Africa until they could support themselves. Six per cent interest on half the capital of the state bank shortly to commence its operations, would furnish the requisite amount, and likewise supply a surplus of ten thousand dollars for contingencies. A poll tax, or a charity of sixty or seventy cents on each free person in the state, over twenty years of age, would produce the amount. A tax of less than one dollar per head on each slave in Kentucky would raise it. The operation of Mr. Clay's land bill would give us the amount, if the legislature thought proper to appropriate it for such a purpose. A trifling diminution in our annual expenditures for luxuries, and a moderate curtailment in our consumption of wines and ardent spirits, would enable us to furnish the money without feeling it. But there is not the least necessity to resort to taxation, or appeal to charity, or curtail any one of the pleasures of sense, in order to raise the money required. The colonists can do it for themselves, provided we will only let them. The hire of four thousand hale young men and women, the year before they go to Africa, would average at least fifty dollars for each. This would make two hundred thousand dollars, and thus supply a surplus of sixty thousand dollars more than what would be actually indispensable to accomplish the object. It must be obvious to every one that it is not a want of ability to raise the means, but that it is a want of will to engage in the work, or to suffer the slaves who are fit for colonization to do it for themselves. Our purses are not the cause of the failure. The Egyptians would not let the Israelites go. Our eager pursuit of wealth and rank scarcely allows us time to think of a benevolent work, much less to do it; and there lies the cause of the failure. If every bosom contained a fountain of love deep and broad enough to buoy up the glory and welfare of mankind, we should return to Africa her long persecuted race, and exterminate slavery at home with a certainty and success which would astonish the world.

I think the remarks made must convince the abolitionist that colonization carried on, upon the plan suggested, would extirpate slavery in Kentucky, and produce a separation between the whites and blacks, locating each race in a congenial climate, and laying a sure

foundation for the permanent felicity of both. If he wishes to contemplate the operations of the scheme upon a still larger scale, I need only inform him that there are three hundred and twelve thousand, five hundred and sixty seven male slaves of ten and under twenty-four years of age, and three hundred and eight thousand, seven hundred and seventy females of the same age in the United States. Divide these numbers by fourteen, and it will give twenty-two thousand, three hundred and twenty-six males, and twenty-two thousand and fifty-five females in their seventeenth year, or a total of forty-four thousand, three hundred and eighty-one which should be annually colonized; the expense of doing which, would only amount to one million, five hundred and fifty three thousand, three hundred and thirty-five dollars. Half the proceeds of the sale of the public lands applied to the object, would accomplish it.

Permit me to anticipate and answer some objections to the plan proposed. It may be said that sending the young men and women to Africa, would be cruel in the extreme, because it would separate them from their parents and relations. This objection comes without force from the slaveholder, especially those who furnish chained victims to supply the demand of the domestic slave trade. That man who severs all the ties which bind together husband and wife, parent and child, and the community which allows it to be done, present themselves rather in an awkward position, clothed in the robes of mercy, and pleading in behalf of slaves, against their transportation to Africa, where liberty is the boon conferred—where emancipation elevates the slave to the rank of a free citizen—and where there is no cast above him to excite his jealousy and envy, by the possession of privileges he can never hope to enjoy.

But I should be entirely willing to test the efficacy of the proposed plan by leaving it to the slaves for acceptance or rejection. Do we not behold the sons and daughters of affluent citizens leave the paternal roof and neighborhood in search of new homes in the "far West," under circumstances which leave no probability of their ever revisiting the loved scenery of joyous childhood, or again shaking the hand of the affectionate father, or again receiving the holy kiss of a weeping mother? Do we not behold Europe casting out swarms of emigrants, who are hourly breaking up the ties of consanguinity, and affinity, and of allegiance, and seeking new homes across the Atlantic, for the purpose of escaping the consequences of those political systems which bow down the spirit of the people, and leave

the majority oppressed with taxes, until they are ready to sink with despair? Did not our pilgrim ancestors fly to the savage wilds of New England to escape religious persecution and to enjoy liberty of conscience? Can any one doubt, who is informed of these things, what course our young slaves would take if the option rested with them? Instead of opposing, parents would urge their children to choose Africa and Liberty, in preference to America and Slavery. America and Slavery! There is something awfully grating to my ears in such a connexion of the terms. The young colonists under the plan suggested, would, indeed, bid their aged parents and friends farewell without hope of seeing them again, but the gloom of the moment would be soon dissipated by the prospect before them, and the cheering thought that each successive year would re-unite them with their younger brothers and sisters in Africa, as these arrived at the age of seventeen. Oh! what feelings would annually exhibit themselves on the shores of Africa, under the operation of the proposed plan. On the arrival of a ship filled with emigrants, what a rush to the landing, what inquires after younger brothers and sisters on board, and then the joyous embrace and anxious questions about father, and mother, and friends in America.

Perhaps the abolitionist is ready to acknowledge that the plan would rid the country of the African race, and slavery in time, and that there are abundant means to carry it into execution; but then he might say, it is too slow and partial in its operations, that money cannot be raised to pay for the slaves, and masters will not give them up unless they are purchased. I admit the remedy is tardy, but it is certain and effectual. The speed with which a cure is effected is certainly important, but it is more important that the disease should be eradicated beyond the possibility of a return in any shape. I do not, for my part, wish to get clear of the evils of slavery by entailing upon posterity a state of perpetual warfare with the colored descendants of slaves, and I believe that wisdom and humanity will both triumph in the end, by the slow and sure operations of the plan proposed. But the plan proposed will operate with as much celerity as the situation of the colony will allow. Liberia must be gradually prepared to receive colonists. It cannot at once receive the whole slave population of Kentucky.

That the remedy does not operate in behalf of those who have been worn out and brutalized under the yoke of slavery, is no objection to the plan. It is needless to attempt to raise such as these to

that condition of intellectual and moral worth which is essential to the proper use and enjoyment of freedom. Accustomed to the control of a master, they have no idea of governing themselves, and when you give them liberty, they fall into idleness, licentiousness and crime. It would mar the prosperity of the colony; it has already been injured to some extent, by sending out this class. But select the youths of both sexes, let them know at an early age the destiny which awaits them, let them see that you retain them as apprentices, and that as soon as they reach the proper age they are to be liberated and sent to Africa, let them be instructed during their apprenticeship in those things which shall qualify them for the new situation and circumstances into which they are to be placed, and you will, by such a course, stimulate their minds, and they will diligently prepare for the high and important station which awaits them. They will then go from you prepared to be useful, and Africa will joyfully stretch forth her hands and receive them.

It may be conceded that a sufficient sum of money cannot be raised to purchase the slaves who, under the plan proposed, ought to be colonized. The four thousand which should go from Kentucky annually, for at least sixteen years, and probably seventeen or eighteen, would cost, if purchased, one million, five hundred thousand dollars, at the average price of three hundred and seventy-five dollars each. The forty-four thousand, three hundred and eighty-one which should be annually sent from the whole U. States, at the same price per head, would cost sixteen million, six hundred and forty-two thousand, eight hundred and seventy-five dollars. It cannot be expected in the present state of public sentiment, that either the state or nation, or their respective citizens, would furnish the money. Those who have no slaves would not submit to be taxed to pay those who have, and if a tax were to fall on slaveholders exclusively, for the purpose of making the purchases, it would be like buying from themselves, and would, in the end, amount to a gift. If, therefore, nothing can be done before paying slaveholders the full price of their slaves, we may give up the project, at least for the present. But here let me ask the abolitionist, if masters will not consent to colonize their slaves without being first paid, how can he expect masters to emancipate before they are paid? If the abolitionist can prove that the master would rather set his slave free and have him for a neighbor, in preference to his going to Africa, then there is ground to contend that general emancipation without pay-

ing the price of the slaves, can be more readily effected than colonization. But it is well known, in the slaveholding states, that one of the strongest objections to emancipation is founded on the fact that we do not thereby get clear of the colored race. The scheme of the abolitionist, if he be honest in his opinions, is therefore, one of inconsiderate zeal, for just as soon as the master is willing to emancipate, he is willing to give up his slave for colonization, and invariably, or in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, prefers the latter. There may be abolitionists whose professions of benevolence for the slave are nothing more than the offspring of selfishness and hypocrisy. Their real object may be to see the slave released from the control of his master, for the purpose of making him subservient to their will, and securing his labor for nothing, by imposing upon his ignorance. I hope, however, there are but few, if any, so base. If I have satisfied the abolitionist of the practicability of colonization, he ought to give up the project of making those free who are not qualified for freedom, and aid in preparing the rising generations of slaves for colonization. If it be the object of the abolitionist to change our constitutions, and to provide for general emancipation, I would barely suggest to him, that in my opinion, he would have an easier task were he to propose that all children born of a slave mother, after some period to be fixed for the purpose, should be the property of the state, and that the state should colonize them in Africa, or elsewhere, as they reached the age of seventeen for girls, and twenty-one for boys. But this, and all other remedies which may be proposed to eradicate slavery, will probably fail, unless slaveholders can be induced to make a voluntary surrender of the slave children. Will masters ever do this?

I know there are some slaveholders now ready to give up, not only the children, but all they own, for purposes of colonization, without money and without price, and I think this sentiment will continue to increase until it pervades and influences a majority of the slaveholders of the state. These opinions are based upon the following facts, of which slaveholders are better informed than formerly, and of which they will be more sensible in the course of their future experience.

1. Slave labor costs more than free labor; and hence another fact, those states where there are no slaves sell their productions cheaper than those of the same kind raised by slaves.

2. Communities which have no slaves, surpass those which have, in almost every thing which renders life comfortable.

3. Slavery violates those principles promulgated to the world in our Declaration of Independence.

4. The master's slaves are a great disadvantage to his children.

5. Many valuable citizens are leaving the state for no other reason than the existence of slavery in it.

6. The rapid increase of the slave population, compared with that of the free whites, increases the probability of the occurrence of those evils too horrible to be mentioned.

7. Many Christians believe that it is altogether incompatible with the doctrines of the Gospel to hold in bondage a portion of the human family, and to cut them off from the pursuit of happiness according to the dictates of their own understandings.

With those who are convinced that the foregoing propositions are true, there is no ground upon which slavery can be justified for a moment, unless it be that it is a less evil, and productive of less suffering and less crime than indiscriminate and immediate emancipation.

It would occasion an unreasonable detention of this audience to enter upon an examination of the truth of each of the foregoing propositions. Whether true or false, we have abundant evidence to show, that the belief of their truth influences the conduct of many slaveholders as powerfully as if their truth was beyond all question. Witness the rapid increase of free people of color by emancipation in Kentucky, and the fact that more slaves have been offered for colonization than our Society has means to transport and provide for. My judicial station has afforded opportunities for observation, and I can state to this assembly, that there has been few cases before the Court of Appeals in the last two years, in which the validity of wills and testaments were involved, where the testator has not made provision for the emancipation or colonization of the whole or part of his slaves. In 1820, according to the census of that year, there were in Kentucky, two thousand, seven hundred and fifty-nine free people of color; in 1830, their numbers had increased to four thousand, nine hundred and seventeen, showing an increase at the rate of 78 2-10 per cent, while our slave population during the same period increased at the rate of 30 1-3 per cent, and our white population at the rate of 19 1-2 per cent only. The causes which have given such a rapid increase to the number of our free colored

people are not temporary, but permanent and deeply planted in the bosoms of reflecting men; and hence we may expect, in time to come, a greater number of emancipations and surrenders for colonization than we have heretofore witnessed. The improved condition of the arts, the increase of facilities for performing the business of life by labor-saving machinery, and the progressive increase of our white population, which in time will furnish many free laborers anxiously seeking employment, will have a powerful influence, and indeed now have it, in many parts of the United States, to break asunder the chains of slavery. Maryland is a striking illustration. In ten years, from 1820 to 1830, there was an actual diminution in the number of slaves, of four thousand, four hundred and four, and an increase of free blacks, of thirteen thousand, two hundred and eight, in that state.

I beg leave to conclude this address, by presenting a brief view of the condition of things in Kentucky. It occurred to me that I would select a few of the richest counties in the state, and by comparing the census of 1830 with that of 1820, ascertain the relative progress which the free and slave population had made in ten years. I turned my attention to Bourbon, Fayette, Jessamine, and Woodford, embracing the *finest contiguous territory* to its extent, regarding natural fertility of soil, on the face of the earth. The account stands thus:

	Free.	Slaves.	Per cent.
In 1820, Bourbon had	12,499	5,165	Slave gain, equal to 24 5-6
In 1830, Bourbon had	11,568	6,863	Free loss, equal to 7 5-12
Loss,	<u>931</u>	Gain, <u>1,703</u>	
In 1820, Fayette had	13,976	9,274	Slave gain, equal to 17 8-10
In 1830, Fayette had	14,165	10,933	Free gain, equal to 1 6-17
Gain,	<u>189</u>	<u>1,659</u>	
In 1820, Jessamine had	6,495	2,802	Slave gain, equal to 20 8-10
In 1830, Jessamine had	6,576	3,384	Free gain, equal to 1 1-4
Gain,	<u>81</u>	<u>582</u>	
In 1820, Woodford had	7,529	4,678	Slave gain, equal to 20 4-10
In 1830, Woodford had	6,640	5,633	Free loss, equal to 11 4-5
Loss,	<u>889</u>	Gain, <u>955</u>	

The aggregate free population of these four counties

in 1820, was 40,499

In 1830, 38,949

Loss, 1,550 equals 3 8-10 pr. ct.

The aggregate slave population in the same counties

in 1820, was 21,919

In 1830, 26,818

Gain, 4,899 equals 22 3-10 pr. ct.

Thus, while the whites are expelled from the Eden of America by hundreds, the blacks enter in by increasing thousands. In these estimates, I have given the whites the advantage of the increase in the free people of color. Take this advantage from them, and it will be found that the free white population has retrograded in Fayette and Jessamine, as well as in Bourbon and Woodford.

The foregoing view is appalling; and I was in hope of finding an agreeable set-off in the condition of four of the most flourishing counties on the Ohio. I supposed that our growing commerce on that beautiful river, and our rising cities on its banks, would show that the whites had greatly surpassed the blacks in the ratio of increase. I knew that slaves were deemed, to some extent, unsafe property near the Ohio, and that circumstance I expected would have its influence in keeping down their numbers. With all these advantages in favor of the whites, I found, on making the estimate, that the ratio of increase was nearly equal. The counties selected are Mason, Jefferson, Oldham, and Henry. The account stands thus:

	Free.	Slaves.	Percent.
In 1820, Mason had	10,222	3,366	Slave gain, equal to 30 4-10
In 1830, Mason had	11,808	4,391	Free gain, equal to 15 1-2
Gain,	<u>1,586</u>	<u>1,025</u>	
In 1820, Jefferson had	13,880	6,886	
Oldham, (not formed.)			
In 1820, Henry had	8,812	2,004	
	<u>22,692</u>	<u>8,890</u>	
In 1830, Jefferson had	17,055	6,934	
In 1830, Oldham had	6,983	2,605	
In 1830, Henry had	8,925	2,463	
	<u>32,963</u>	<u>12,002</u>	
Gain,	<u>10,271</u>	<u>3,112</u>	Slave gain, equal to 35 Free gain, equal to 45 1-5

The aggregate free population of these four counties

in 1820, was 32,911

In 1830, 44,771

Gain, 11,857 equals 36 per cent.

The aggregate slave population in the same counties

in 1820, was 12,256

In 1830, 16,393

Gain, 4,137 equals 33 3-4 per cent.

In this estimate, also, the whites have the advantage of the increase of the free people of color. Deduct this, and the rate of increase per cent between the white and black population, will be very nearly equal in those four counties; the soil of which is but little inferior to that of the other four, and whose commercial advantages are greatly superior. The facts thus presented, demand the serious reflection of every patriot. I leave it for each one to imagine our ultimate destiny, unless we put in operation some plan to change the course of things heretofore prevailing.

The hostility which has unfortunately sprung up on the part of abolitionists, to our society and its operations, is well calculated to render inefficient the exertions of the philanthropist in behalf of the African race. He perceives the want of concert, the want of system, and the division of sentiment among those whose motives are pure, and sees that instead of aiding each other by co-operation, they militate against the success of each. My object has been to convince the abolitionist, if possible, that he should unite with us: and for the purpose of giving more efficiency to our scheme, I shall submit, for the adoption or rejection of the members of the society, at our meeting on to-morrow, the following resolutions:

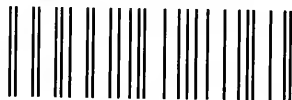
Resolved, That it is expedient to apply to the General Assembly of the Commonwealth, for the passage of an act incorporating the Colonization Society of Kentucky, and vesting the corporation with power to hold slaves and other estate.

Resolved, That the property acquired by the corporation, either by gift, devise or purchase, shall be exclusively devoted to colonizing such people of color as the managers of the society, under the control of the Legislature, may from time to time direct.

Resolved, That the President appoint a committee of five to address the legislature by petition, and request the passage of a law in conformity to the foregoing resolutions.

If the society should adopt the resolutions, and an application is accordingly made to the legislature, the responsibility will be thrown upon the representatives of the people to decide, whether they will create an artificial body with power to receive and employ the consecrated funds of benevolence in the cause of colonization—a cause which has already been approved by a resolution of the general assembly, and which we trust has, and will continue to meet with the signal approbation of Heaven.

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